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TAGS: 0VIP (KISSINGER)
SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

PLEASE PASS TO RODMAN/ADAMS/BORG FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER

1. HERewith FULL TEXT GEORGE F. WILL COLUMN , MARCH 18,
WASHPOST, ENTITLED "TWO-WAY FOREIGN POLICY."

2. WHAT USED TO BE SAID OF SCOTTISH HIGHLAND REGIMENTS--
"THEY CHARGE LIKE HELL, BOTH WAYS"--IS TRUE OF AMERICA'S
FOREIGN POLICY IN THIS CENTURY.

3. IN 1914 THE UNITED STATES WAS A STAUNCH DEFENDER OF
NEUTRALS' RIGHTS. BY 1917 THE UNITED STATES WAS AN
IMPENITENT VIOLATOR OF THOSE RIGHTS.

IN 1935 CONGRESS PASSED THE NEUTRALITY ACT. IN 1941,
WHILE U.S. DESTROYERS HUNTED GERMAN U-BOATS IN THE NORTH
ATLANTIC, CONGRESS PASSED LEND-LEASE.

5. IN 1945 THE ARSENAL OF DEMOCRACY RUSHED TO DEMOBILIZE.
AFTER 1948, AND ESPECIALLY AFTER 1950, REMOBILIZATION
WAS THE POLICY.

6. THE CATALYST FOR THE NEW FOREIGN POLICY THEN WAS THE
1948 BERLIN BLOCKADE AND AIRLIFT AND, TWO YEARS LATER, A

WAR ON AN ASIAN PENINSULA, KOREA. A QUARTER OF A
CENTURY LATER THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IS PREOCCUPIED WITH
ANOTHER AIRLIFT IN ANOTHER WAR ON ANOTHER ASIAN
PENINSULA.

7. BUT CAMBODIA HAS BECOME A PREOCCUPATION AT A MOMENT
WHEN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY IS CHARGING OFF AGAIN IN
ANOTHER DIRECTION. THIS TIME, AGAIN, THE DIRECTION IS
AWAY FROM FOREIGN EXERTIONS.

8. INDEED, THIS NEW NATIONAL FRAME OF MIND ALREADY HAS
BEEN CODIFIED IN SOME LAWS, ONE OF WHICH PROBABLY MAKES
THE CURRENT AIRLIFT ILLEGAL.

9. THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT PROSCRIBES "MILITARY OR
PARAMILITARY OPERATIONS BY THE UNITED STATES IN OR OVER
VIETNAM, LAOS OR CAMBODIA." THE AIRLIFT TO PHNOM PENH

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ORIGINATES FROM A U.S. AIR BASE IN THAILAND. IT IS RUN BY A CIVILIAN CONTRACTOR WHOSE CONTRACT IS WITH THE U.S. AIR FORCE.

10. SO 10 YEARS AFTER PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S SURREPTITIOUS DECISION TO ESCALATE IN VIETNAM, INCREDULOUS AMERICANS WATCH WHILE CONGRESS, PROUD PARENT OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT, ARGUES WITH THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH ABOUT WHETHER ADDITIONAL U.S. MILITARY AID IS NEEDED IN INDOCHINA TO KEEP THE U.S. GOVERNMENT "CREDIBLE." CERTAINLY THERE IS MUCH ABOUT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT THAT FOREIGNERS, LIKE THE REST OF US, FIND INCREDIBLE.

11. IMAGINE, FOR EXAMPLE, WHAT BEMUSED FOREIGNERS MAKE OF SENATE MINORITY LEADER HUGH SCOTT'S CALL FOR THE RESIGNATION OF CAMBODIA'S PRESIDENT, LON NOL. RICHARD NIXON NEVER HEARD SUCH A CALL FROM SCOTT.

12. BUT FOREIGNERS SHOULD LISTEN TO SCOTT'S VOICE, ODD THOUGH IT IS. IT IS THE SOUND OF THE REPUBLIC DOING PENANCE FOR ITS "ARROGANCE OF POWER" DURING THE BAD OLD DAYS WHEN "IMPERIAL AMERICA" INTERFERED IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SMALL NATIONS.

13. BUT EVEN IF THE UNITED STATES TODAY WERE NOT CHARGING AWAY FROM THE BAD OLD DAYS, THE MOST CAMBODIA COULD EXPECT WOULD BE WHAT SOUTH VIETNAM RECEIVED, U.S. SUPPORT TO RUN A PROTRACTED WAR, WITH THE FINAL 10 OR 20 YEARS OF WAR TAKING PLACE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE FINEST PEACE THAT AMERICAN DIPLOMACY CAN NEGOTIATE.

14. REMEMBER, THE AMERICAN CREDO IS: IF YOU WANT SOMEONE TO PRODUCE ONION-FLAVORED POTATO CHIPS, OFFER HIM THE RIGHT PRICE. BUT NOW THE CREDO HAS A SMALL FOOTNOTE: THE PRICE MECHANISM WON'T PRODUCE A WINNING ARMY IN INDOCHINA.

15. THE SENSIBLE, HUMANE RELUCTANCE TO GIVE CAMBODIA EVEN A RELATIVELY SMALL AMOUNT OF ADDITIONAL AID DERIVES NOT FROM A FEAR OF RECEIVING PAIN, BUT FROM A RELUCTANCE TO CAUSE PAIN. BACKING LOSERS IS UN-AMERICAN. IT ALSO IS OF DUBIOUS NICENESS WHEN WHAT IS INVOLVED IS NOT A FOOTBALL GAME TO BE PLAYED OUT, COME WHAT MAY, UNTIL THE GUN SOUNDS, BUT A WAR WITH REAL GUNS THAT SHOULD BE SILENCED WHEN THE OUTCOME IS APPARENT.

16. THE KHMER ROUGE'S SUPERIOR FIGHTING SKILLS, LIKE THOSE OF THE WAFEN-SS, IN NO WAY VINDICATE THE POLITICAL ENDS THEY SERVE. INDEED, THE BARBARISM. AT ONCE

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SYSTEMATIC AND CASUAL, OF THE INSURGENTS, LIKE THAT OF THE WAFFEN-SS, TELL ALL THAT ONE NEEDS TO KNOW ABOUT THOSE POLITICAL ENDS.

17. ON JAN. 6 KHMER ROUGE FORCES MURDERED 42 CIVILIAN ADULTS AND 10 CHILDREN AT ANG SNOUL. ON JAN. 19 THEY BAYONETED 10 CIVILIANS AT A REFUGEE VILLAGE NEAR PHNOM PENH. DECAPITATION IS A FAVORED WAY OF MURDERING REFUGEES ALONG RT. 151.

18. THE KHMER ROUGE EVIDENTLY BELIEVES THAT "WAR IS CRUELTY. . . . THE CRUELER IT IS, THE SOONER IT WILL BE OVER." THAT IDEA WAS OLD, IF NOT INVARIABLY TRUE, LONG BEFORE IT WAS PUT INTO THOSE WORDS BY WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN. (END TEXT.) INGENSOLL

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